

MARTINE MAR-SIXTVS.

A second replie against

*the defensory and Apology of Sixtus the
fift late Pope of Rome, defending the exe-
crable fact of the Iacobine Frier, vpon the per-
son of Henry the third, late King of France,
to be both commendable, admirable,
and meritorious.*

VVherein the saide Apology is faithfully
translated, directly answered, and fully
satisfied.

Let God be Iudge betwixt thee and me. Genes. 16.



AT LONDON

Printed for Thomas Woodcock, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules
Church-yard, at the signe of the black Beare. 1592.

A second reply against

the defence and apology of Sixtus the
late Pope of Rome, defending the ex-
communication of the Jacobite King upon the pre-
text of his being the King of France,
and maintaining

Wherein the said Apology is faithfully
translated, directly answered, and fully
finished.

For Galle's sale by the author's General



Printed for Thomas Wood, and sold by John in Paris
Church-yard, at the sign of the black bear. 1722.

To the right VVorshipfull and vertu-
ous Gentleman, Master Edmund Bowyar
Esquier, the Author hereof wisheth peace
and wealth, with aboundance of all
spirituall felicitie.

WHen the Grecians in a great solemnity
presented to Phillip of Macedon many
goodly giftes, a poore Painter stept in a-
mong the rest, and offered vp the counterseit of him-
self in a table, beside which were portrayed out many
iewells & pearles, and rings; ouer each whereof was
inscribed; Vellem & hoc; I protest it sir vnfainedly
your late kindenes, your courteous offer hath so ouer-
come me, as I must needs present somewhat, and be-
cause that in so great variety as the world affordeth
my slender ability cā shape out nothing worth the gi-
uing, I haue assaid to gratulate you with a shadow,
assuring you that if there be any thing more worthy
your VVorships acceptation Vellem & hoc; neuer-
thelesse because I hope that at a Painters hand a pic-
ture wil be accepted, & that there is a Decorum in
it that euery man should present a taste of his owne
trade, I thought good to offer vp to your VVorship
this short treatise, the fruites of a schollers study,
which if it shall please you to reade ouer, I haue ob-
tained a peece of mine end: Loath I was to display
my selfe to the world, but for that I hope to daunce
vnder a maske, and bluster out like the winde, which
A 3 though

THE EPISTLE

though euery man heareth, yet none can in sight describe, I was content for once to become odious, that is, to speake in print, that such as vse to carpe at they know not what, may for once likewise condemne they know not whome, and yet I doo not so accuse the readers, as if all writers were faultles, for why? VVe liue in a printing age, wherein there is no man either so vainely, or factiously, or filthily disposed, but there are crept out of all sorts vnauthorized authors, to fill and fit his humor, and if a mans deuotion serue him not to goe to the Church of GOD, he neede but repayre to a Stationers shop and reade a sermon of the diuels: I loath to speake it, euery red-nosed rimester is an author, euery drunken mans dreame is a booke, and he whose talent of little wit is hardly worth a farthing, yet layeth about him so outragiously, as if all Helicon had run through his pen, in a word, scarce a cat can looke out of a gutter, but out starts a halspeny Chronicler, and presently A propper new ballet of a strange sight is endited: VVhat publishing of friuolous and scurrilous Prognostications? as if VVill Sommers were againe reuiued: what counterfeiting and cogging of prodigious and fabulous monsters? as if they labored to exceede the Poet in his Metamorphosis; what lasciuious, vn honest, and amorous discourses, such as Augustus in a heathen common wealth could neuer tolerate?

DEDICATORIE

*lerate? & yet they shame not to subscribe, By a graduate in Cambridge; In Artibus Magister; as if men should iudge of the fruites of Art by the ragges and parings of wit, and endite the Vniuersities, as not onely accessary to their vanitie, but nurses of bawdry; we would the world should know, that howsoeuer those places haue power to create a Master of Artes, yet the art of loue is none of the seauen; and be it true that Honos alit artes, yet small honor is it to be honored for such artes, nor shal he carry the price that seasoneth his profit with such a sweete; It is the complaint of our age, that men are wanton and sick of wit, with which (as with a loathsome potion in the stomack) they are neuer well till all be out. They are the Pharisees of our time, they write al, & speak al, and do al, vt audiantur ab hominibus; or to tel a plaine truth plainely, it is with our hackney authors, as with Oyster-wines, they care not how sweetely, but how loudely they cry, and coming abroad, they are receaued as vnsauory wares, men are faine to stop their noses, and crie; Fie vpon this wit; thus affecting to bee famous, they become notorious, that it may be saide of them as of the Sophisters at Athens: dum volunt haberi celebri- ter docti innotescunt insigniter asinini, & when with shame they see their folly, they are faine to put on a mourning garment, and crie, Farwell. If any
man*

THE EPISTLE

man bee of a dainty and curious eare, I shall desire him to repayre to those authors; euery man hath not a Perle-mint, a Fish-mint, nor a Bird-mint in his braine, all are not licensed to create new stones, new Fowles, new Serpents, to coyne new creatures; for my selfe, I know I shall be eloquent enough, I shall be an Orator good enough if I can perswade, which to be the end and purpose of my heart, he knoweth who knoweth my heart: if your VVorship shall demaund why I published this pamphlet vnder the name of Martine, I must tell you, because I purposed for once to play the Martine: if you aske what Martine is, I must desire you to Etymologize, and you shall pick his nature out of his name, the first sillable whereof implying of it selfe to Mar, and being headded with a Tine, the murdering end of a forke, it must needes be that Mar-tine being truely spelled and put together, signifieth such a one as galleth and pricketh men to death, but this difference is betweene the great Martine & my self, that whereas he most vnnaturally laid siege against his native soyle, & spent his powder vpon his owne countrey walles, I haue pickt me out a forreine aduersary, a common enemy to play vpon, whome the great sheapheard of the sheepe, as a capital consumer and wolfe in his flock, shall in his good time confounde and destroy. Amen.

Your Worships in
all ducty. R. W.



The Oration of Sixtus the V. as it was vttered in the consistory at Rome.

Anno. 1589. September II.



Onsidering in my minde both often
and earnestly, & bending my thoughts
to muse vpon those things, which by
the prouidence of GOD are lately
come to passe: me thinks I may right-
ly vsurpe that saying of the Prophet
Abacuk, *A worke is done in your daies*
which no man will beleene when it shall
be reported. The King of France is

Abac. 1. 5.

done to death by the hands of a Monke, for vnto this it fitly may
be applied, albeit the Prophet spake properly of another thing,
namely, of the incarnation of our Lord, which exceedeth all
wonders and maruailes whatsoeuer, euen as the Apostle *Paule*
doth most truely referre the very same words to the resurrecti-
on of Christ: when the Prophet speaketh of a worke, he will not
be vnderstoode of any vulgar or ordinary matter, but of some
rare, some famous and memorable exploite, as where it is saide
of the creation of the world, *The heauens are the workes of thy*
hands; and againe, *the seauenth day hee rested from all the workes*
which hee had made: but where hee saith, *It is done*, it is vsuall
in Scripture to vnderstand such a thing as falleth not out by
blinde chance, by hap hazard, by fortune, or at all auentures,
but by the expresse wil, prouidence, disposition & gouernement
of God: as when our Sauour saith, *Yee shall doo the workes which*
I doo, and greater then these shall yee doo, and many such like pla-
ces in holy Scripture, but where he saith it was already done, he
speaketh after the manner of other Prophets, who for the cer-
tainty of the euent, are wont to foretell of things to come, as if
they were already past; for the Philosophers say that things past
are in nature of necessity, things present in a state of now being,
and things to come to be merely contingent, that is their iudge-

A loudelic,
for neither
spake Aba-
cuk of the
incarnatiō,
nor Paule
of the resur-
rection, but
both of
strange and
incredible
plagues en-
suing.

Ioh. 14. 14.

B

ment;

Acts. 8. 32.

A sweet
note.

ment; in regarde of which necessitie, the Prophet *Esa* foretelling a long time before of the death of Christ, laid euen as after it was saide againe, *hee was lead as a sheepe to the slaughter, and as a Lambe before the shearer, hee opened not his mouth*; And such a thing is this, whereof wee now intreate; his which hath happened in these our dayes, a worke famous, memorable, and almost incredible, a worke not wrought without the speciall prouidence and gouernement of the almightie; a Monke hath slaine a King, not a painted King, one figured out vpon a peece of paper or vpon a wall, but the King of *France*, in the middle of his army, being hedged in with his campe and garde on euery side, which in deede is such a worke, and so brought about as no man will belecue it when it shall be reported, and the posterity perhaps will repute it for a fable.

Acts. 17. 32.

That a King should dye or should be slaine, men are easily induced to thinke it, but that he should thus bee cut off, the world will hardly belecue it; as that Christ should bee borne of a woman, we do easily acknowledge it, but if ye adde further that he was borne of a Virgin, my humane wit cannot subscribe vnto it; likewise that Christ should dye it is as easily beleueed, but being dead to rise againe (because that to a naturall habit once wholly lost, there is no retiring back againe) in the reach of mans capacity it is vnpossible, and by consequence incredible; that a man out of his sleepe, out of his sicknes, out of a sowne, or of an extasie should recouer himselfe againe (for that in the course of nature such things are vsuall) in humane reason we accord vnto it, but a dead man to rise againe in the iudgement of the flesh, it seemed so incredible, that when *Paule* made mention thereof amongst the *Athenian* Philosophers, they vpbraided him as a *setter forth of strange Gods*, and other (as *Luke* reporteth) laughed at him, and said, *we will heare thee about this matter againe*: therefore in such things as are not wont to fall out according to the custome of nature and common course of the world, the Prophet saith that no man will belecue when report shall bee made, but yet when we remember Gods omnipotent power, and captiuate our vnderstandings to the obedience which is through faith, and to the will of Christ we are brought to belecue, for by this meanes that which naturally was vncredible is become credible,

dible, therefore I which according to man doo not beleue that Christ was borne of a Virgin, yet when it is further added, that it was done by the working of the holy Ghost, aboue the compasse of nature, I do verily assent and giue credence to it; and when it is said that Christ rose againe from the dead, according to mans wit, I cannot yeeld vnto it; but when it is saide againe that it was done by a diuine nature which was in him, then doo I most assuredly beleue it. In like manner, albeit according to the wisdom of the flesh and mans vnderstanding, it be incredible or at least very vnprobable, that so mighty a Prince in the midst of his campe, so garded with such an armed troupe, should bee slaughtered by the hands of one poore silly Frier, yet when I call to minde on the other side, the most heinous misdemeanour of the King, the particular prouidence of the Almighty ruling in this action, and how strangely and wonderfully God executed his most iust decree against him, then doo I verily and stedfastly beleue it; for why? We may not referre so notable and strange a worke to any other cause, then to the especiall prouidence of God (as we vnderstand, that some there bee who ascribe it to other ordinary causes, to fortune and chance, or some such like accidentary euent) but they which narrowly looke into the course of the whole proceedings, may clearely see how many things were brought about, which without the speciall supply of a diuine assistance, could neuer be atchieued of any man. And certainly wee may not thinke that God dooth loosely gouerne the state of Kings and Kingdomes, and other so excellent and weighty affaires; there are in the holy stories of the bible examples of this kinde, to none whereof we can asigne any other author then God, but there is none, wherein more clearely shineth the superiour working of God then this which now we haue in hand. Wee reade that *Eleazar* to the end hee might destroy the persecuting King and enemy of Gods people, did put himselfe in danger of ineuitable death, *When as beholding in the conflict one Elephant more conspicuous then the rest, vpon which the King was like to bee, hee rushed violently amidst the route of the enemies, and making way on both sides came to the beast, gat vnder him, and slew him with his sword, which in the fall fell downe vpon him, and crushed him to death;* and heare for zeale, for valor of minde, and

Yes, some of
it is to be
referred to
the diuell

Maccab. 6.
43.44.45.

Judith. 8.

32.

A woman
may passe
where a flie
cannot, ex-
empli gra-
tia, into the
Popes bed
chamber.

for the issue of the thing attempted, we finde some resemblance and equality, but for the rest no one thing comparable. *Eleazar* was a profest Souldier, trained vp in armes and in the field, one purposely pickt out for the battaile, and as it oft falleth out enraged with boldnes and fury of minde, whereas our Monke was neuer brought vp in such broyles and martiall encounters, but by his trade of life so abhorring from bloud, that happely hee could scarce indure to see himseife let bloud; hee knew before both his manner of death and place of buriall, as that more like one swallowed vp into the bowels, then pressed down by the fall of the beast he should be intombed in his owne spoyle: but this man was to looke for both death and tortures more bitter than death, such as hee could not dreame of, and little doubted he to lye vnburied: besides many other poyntes of difference that are betweene them. And well knowne likewise is the famous story of the holy woman *Judith*, who to set free her owne besieged city and people of God, took in hand an enterprise (God doubtles directing her thereunto) about the killing of *Holofernes*, then generall of the enemies forces, and in the end she did effect it: in which attempt albeit there are both many and manifest tokens of a superior direction, yet in the death of this King, and deliuerance of the citie of *Paris*, wee may see far greater arguments of Gods prouidence, in as much as in the iudgement of man, it was more difficult and impossible than that, for that holy woman opened her purpose to some of the gouernours, and in their presence, and by their sufferance passed through both the gates and garde of the city, so that she could not be in danger of any search or inquisition, which during the time of assault, is wont to be so straight, that scarce a fly may passe by vnexamined: but being amongst the enemies, through whose tentes and seuerall wardes she must needs passe, after some triall and examination, for that she was a woman, & had about her neither letters nor weapons, from whence might grow any suspition, and rendring very probable reasons of her comming to the campe, of her flight and departure frō her countrey men, she was licensed to passe without any let, so that as well for those causes, as for her sex and excellent beautie, shee might be admitted into the presence of so vnchaste a gouernour, vpon whom being intoxicate with wine, she might

might easily wreake her purpose. This did shee, but ours a man of holy orders did both allay and bring about a worke of more weight, full of more encombrances, and wrapt in with so great difficulties & dangers on euery side, as it could be accomplished by no wisdom, nor humane policy, neither by any other meanes but by the manifest appointment and assistance of God: it was requisit that letters of commendation should be procured from them of the contrary faction, it was necessary that hee should passe out by that gate of the citie, which lead vnto the enemies campe, which doubtles was so warded in that troublesome time of the siege, that nothing was vnsuspected, neither was any man suffered to passe to & fro, but after a most streight inquiry what letters he conueyed, what newes he carried, what busines, what weapons hee had: but hee (a wondrous thing) passed through the watches without all examination, & that with letters of credence to the enemy, which if the citizens had intercepted, without all reprimall or further iudgement he had surely dyed: this was an euident argument of Gods prouidence; but a greater wonder was that, that the same man soone after without all examination passed through the campe of the enemies likewise, through the sentinells and seuerall watches of the Souldiers, and through the garde which was next the body of the King, and in a word, through the whole armie, which for the most part was compact of hereticks, hee himselfe being a man of holy orders, and clad in a Friers weede, which in the eyes of such men was so odious, that in the places adioyning to *Paris*, which a little before they had surpris'd whatsoeuer Monkes they took, they either slaughtered, or else most cruelly intreated; *Judith* was a woman, therefore no whit hated, and yet often examined, neither carried she ought about her which might indanger her, but this man was a Monke, and therefore detested, and came very suspiciously with a knife prouided for the feare, and that not closed vp in a sheath (which had been more excusable) but altogether naked and hid in his sleeue, which had they bolted out, there had been no way but present execution: these are al so manifest tokens of Gods especial prouidence, as no exception can be taken against them, nor could it otherwise be but that God euen blinded the eyes of the enemies lest they should discerie him, for as

The Pope
speakes as
if the Frier
were still
aliue.

I wonder
where they
were borne
which
so ascribe
them.

before we said, albeit some there bee who vniustly ascribe these things to chance and fortune, we notwithstanding cannot be perswaded to referre them to any cause but to the will of God, nor truly should I otherwise thinke, but that I haue subdued mine vnderstanding to obedience in Christ, who after so wonderfull a manner, prouided both to set at libertie the citie of *Paris*, which then we vnderstoode to be many wayes in great perplexity and distresse, as also to auenge the most heynous misdeedes of the King, and to take him out of the world, by so vnhappy and reprochfull a death: & truly we did heretofore with some griefe, foretel that it would in time fal out, that as he was the last of his house, so was he like to come to some strange & shamefull end, which not onely the Cardinalls of *Loyeuse*, of *Lenoncourt*, and *Paris*, but the Embassadour likewise, which then was liedger with vs can wel auouch I spake, for why, we cal not the dead, but men aliue to witnes of our words, which all of them full well remember: notwithstanding, howsoeuer wee are now enforced to pleade against this haples King, wee doo in no wise touch the Kingdome and royall state of *France*, which as we haue heretofore, so still hereafter we will prosecute with all fatherly affection and honorable regarde, but this we haue spoken of the kings person onely, whose infortunate end hath depriued him of all thoserites, which this holy seate, the mother of all the faithfull, and specially of christian Princes, is wont to performe to Emperours and Kings after their decease, which for him likewise wee had solemnised, but that the Scripture in such a case dooth flatly forbid vs. *There is* (saith Saint Iohn) *a sinne vnto death, & I say not for that that any man shall pray*, which may be vnderstoode either of the sinne it selfe, as if he should say, for that sinne, or else for the remission of that sinne I will not that any man should pray, because it is vnpardonable; or that which sorteth to the same end, for that man who committeth a sinne vnto death, I wil not that any man should pray, of which kinde likewise our Sauour Christ in *Matthew* maketh mention, that *to him which sinneth against the holy Ghost, there is no remission either in this world, or in the world to come*, where hee maketh three sortes of sinne, against the Father, against the Sonne, and against the holy Ghost, the two former are not so grieuous but pardonable, but the third

1. Iho. 5. 16.

Marke
here a pro-
found sub-
tilty.

Matt. 12. 32

is not to be forgiven: al which difference (as the schoolemen out of the Scriptures deliuer it) arise h out of the diuersitie of the properties, which are seuerally ascribed to the seuerall persons of the trinity: for albeit as there is the same essence, so there is the same power, wisdom and goodnes of all the persons (as we learne out of the creede of *Athanasius*, when hee saith the father is omnipotent, the Sonne omnipotent, and the holy Ghost omnipotent) yet by way of attribution vnto the Father is ascribed power, to the Sonne wisdom, and to the holy Ghost loue, each whereof as they are called properties are so proper to euery person, as they cannot be put vpon another, and by the contraries of these properties, wee come to knowe the difference and weight of sinne; the contrarie to power (which is the attribute of the Father) is weakenes, so that whatsoeuer we commit through infirmitie and weakenes of our nature, may be said to be committed against the Father: the contrarie of wisdom is ignorance, through which when a man offendeth, he is saide to offend against the Sonne, so that those finnes which are committed either through mans frailty or ignorance, may easily obtaine a pardon: but the third which is loue, the propertie of the holy Ghost hath for his contrarie ingratitude, a most hatefull sinne, whereby it cometh to passe, that man dooth not acknowledge Gods loue and benefites towards him, but forgetteth, despiseth, and groweth in hatred of them, and so at length becommeth obstinat and impenitent, and this way men offend more grieuously and dangerously toward God, then by ignorance or infirmitie: therefore these are called finnes against the holy Ghost, which because they are not so often & so easily forgiven, & not without a greater measure of grace, they are reckoned in a sort vnpardonable, whenas notwithstanding onely by reason of mans impenitence, they are absolutely and simply vnpardonable; for whatsoeuer is committed in this life, though it be against the holy Ghost, yet by a timely repentance it may be blotted out, but he that perseuereth vnto the end, leaueth no place for grace and mercy, & for such an offence, or for a man so offending, the Apostle would not that after his death we should pray. And now for that vnto our great grieve, we are giuen to vnderstand that the foresaide King dyed thus impenitent, as namely, amidst a knot of hereticks (for

O *Caput logicum*, I neuer knew before that loue and ingratitude were contraries.

SIXTVS.

of such people he had mustered out an army) and likewise for that vpon his death-bed, hee bequeathed the succession of his Kingdome to *Nauarra*, a pronounced and excommunicate heretick, and euen at the last point and gaspe, he coniured both him and such like as were about him, to take vengeance of those whome he suspected to be the authors of his death: for these and such like manifest tokens of impenitencie, our pleasure is that there shall no dead mans rites be solemnised for him, not for that we doo in any sort preiudice the secret iudgement and mercy of God toward him, who was able according to his good pleasure, euen at the very breathing out of his soule, to turne his heart and haue mercy vpon him, but this we speak according to that which came into the outward apparence. Our most bountifull Sauiour, grant that others being admonished by this fearefull example of Gods iustice, may returne into the way of life, and that which hee hath thus in mercy begun, let him in great kindnes continew and accomplish, as we hope he will, that we may yeeld vnto him immortall thankes, for deliuering his Church from so great mischieues and dangers.

Dixit insipiens.

And hauing thus definitely spoken, he dismissed the Consistorie with a blessing.

O terque quaterque beati.



MARTINE MAR-SIXTVS.

*This foule defence a Frenchman late defied,
And wisely wrote his censure of the same:
His censure pleased; yet one of Rome replied,
A homeborne Iudge could not the cause defame,
The French were parcial for their Henries sake;
Why then (quoth he) were good some stranger spake.
With that they spied, and calde, and causd me stay,
And for I seemd a stranger in their ey,
I must be iudge twixt France and Rome they say,
And will (quoth I) nor can I iudge awry;
Sixtus was Pope, and popish was your King,
I both dislike, list how I like the thing.*

A reply against the former Apologie.



Considering in my minde both often and earnestly, and bending my thoughts to muse vpon those things, which by the instinct of Satan are lately come to light, me thinkes I may rightly inuert that saying of the Prophet Abacuk: *A word is spoken in our daies which no man will beleene that it should be vttered.* The King of France is done to death by the hands of a Monke; a deepe prophane and irreligious: but yet I speake of a sinne exceeding that, the deepe is remitted, excused, defended, commended, extolled, and that by the mouth of the Pope; heare O heauens, and hearken O inhabitants of the earth, whether such a thing hath bin in your daies, or yet in the daies of your fathers: When

Martine

When I call to minde the fact of the Monk, I detest and abhorre him; but when I heare the voyce of the Pope, as one that had seene a monster I stand in a maze and wonder at him: and surely good cause there is to wonder. I thought it had been incident to man onely to commit sinne, but to commend sinne I iudged it proper only to þ diuell: therfore Satan auant: but these are the latter dayes, & iniquitie must needes abound. Was it not enough to disturbe the common peace, to alienate the hearts of the Commons, to stirre vp a restless and factious Rebelle, to muster out a league of mutinous and riotous conspiratoꝝ, to discountenance and overbeare a lawfull King, to weaken, to disauthorize, and last of al most furiously to murder him, but presently they which stand in the gate must laugh at it, the drunkards make songs of it, and thou thy selfe Sixtus like a parasite vpon a stage applaudest vnto it, *factum pol optime, there, there, so should it goe*: but accursed be they which reioyce in iniquitie, and woe be to them which call euill good. Notwithstanding, howsoeuer the Apologie of so hateful a fact were execrable, yet if it had bin vndertaken but by some smooth tongd Jesuit or pettie Priest, or had but one frier clawed another, I could in some sort haue suppressed my grieue with silence: for what is it that hath thus incited me a sojournier to the countrey, a straunger to the cause (save as it generally concerneth the whole Church) what is it (I say) that thus hath prickt mee forth to so austere a censure and contradiction, but for that I find the fact excused where specially it ought to haue been condemned, for that I finde it commended where it ought to haue been severely punished, for that no meaner man then Sixtus himselfe, the Arch-priest and Prelate of the Romish Synagogue, the Vicegerent of Christ, the porter of heauen, the Supporter of all Christendome hath vndertaken so damnable a defence. This is it (I say) which hath made me a confuter, which how well I haue performed, or whether I haue performed it or no it mattereth not, I haue sufficiently confuted whatsoeuer I haue but published or barely translated, noz needeth an ill fauoured face a Poet to stand by and rime vpon it, it selfe at a bare sight will shew it selfe: & let me speake it without offence, in a case so weightie and grievous, from a person so learned and famous, I haue not heard a more
artles

Mar-Sixtus.

artles and flight defence, wherein if you looke for proofes it is drie and barren; if for stile, it is harsh, vnpleasant and vntrimmed; if for method, confused and independent; if for matter, loose & impertinent, *Stultorum plena sunt omnia*; not a wise word in a whole Oracion: and yet sometimes I heare him discourting like a graue Diuine profoundly; sometime flourishing like an Orator with Tropes and figures brauely: sometime as one inspired with a propheticall spirit diuinely: sometime me thinks I heare the ghost of Aquinas very scholastically: sometime one quoting Scriptures learnedly, and at the shutting vp of all, one praying like a Saint deuouely: but the diuell had Scripture, Caiphaz did prophesie, and Iudas made many a prayer; but what is that to come neere to God with thy lips, *giue me thy heart.*

Pro. 23. 26.

In the front and entrance of this painted processe to stirre by the mindes of the hearers not so much to attention as to admiration, a place in Abacuk (to vse but his owne phrase) is vsurped, *A worke is done in your dayes, which no man will credit when it shall be reported.* The application whereof if it poynted to the impossibilitie of the work, in the sequell of this discourse I wil make it plaine that it was both false and friuolous, and to compare it with the incomprehensible mysterie of Christes incarnation, I tell thee (Sixtus) it was blasphemous: but if thou didst onely respect the rarenes, the foulenes, and deformitie of the worke, then mightest thou iustly say, *A worke is done in our dayes*, and who will beleue our report: Such a barbarous murder committed vpon the sacred person of a Prince, Scythians and Cannibals will hardly beleue it, and the posteritie perhaps will repute it for a fable: and so in regard of that detestation, which every man at the first hearing will conceaue, I graunt it was a worke incredible: but when I call to minde on the other side, and consider the Authors of the worke, when I heare that the rebellious and bloud-thirstie Leaguers had contriued it, that Sixtus himselfe the high Priest of Rome had dispensed for it, and that a murderous and wretched Iacobine did perforce it, then all is credible and probable enough, we are easily drawne to beleue it. And surely I see nothing therein but as in a matter of ordinary euent, nothing so exceeding the reach of mans capacitie, nothing so declining from

Martine

the common course of nature and of the world, for which you should compare it with the incarnation and resurrection of Christ, and in euery lease to cry out, *A worke is done in our dayes,* and who will beleue our report? Nay rather who will not beleue it? It is no strange or vnusuall thing to see your hands distayned with blood, your lawes are written in blood, your rising vp in armes it is for blood, your courtes of Inquisition are for blood, you muse, you meditate, you hunger and thirst for nought but blood; or if that adde any wonder to the worke, or make it more incredible that it was wrought in the blood of a King, yet for that the assiduity of euery thing taketh away the admiration, I cease to wonder at that to; indeed the elder adges did so admire and reuerence the person of a King, that but to touch the

2.Sam.1.14 **L**ords annoynted was irreligious and prophane; but see the calamitie of our times, wherein there is nothing more vsuallie thought of, with lesse remorse attempted, or with more boldnes atteyned then the slaughter of Kings and Princes; it becometh not the Sea of Rome to shoote at euery shrub, they haue learned to ayme at fayrer markes, they I say, whose practicall and pragmaticall heads, can speculate of nothing else but Kings and Kingdomes, to dispose, depose, to place, and displace, what men, or by what meanes they like or list, and as easily they proceede to practise vpon a Prince, as vpon the head of a meaner man; the bleeding wounds of Orange and Conde yet crying for vengeance from Heauen, can witnes well that these practises are no nouelty, or if they list but recount the fundry and successles attempts, against the Crowne and person of our Soueraigne Elizabeth, they must sound a retrait, and cease for shame to cry, *A worke is done in our dayes, past beleefe, impossible, incredible;* but what is it then that maketh this worke so incredible, so strange and wonderfull? was it, for that it was atchieued by a Donke? Indeed it was a worke vnfitting that profession, but neither was it in regarde of nature vnpossible, neither in regarde of their common practise strange or vnprobable; for why? His accesse being as free (as it was too free) his minde being as malicious, and his tooles as sharpe as another mans, I see no reason why hee might not strike as deepe a stroake; and yet no rule in nature violate;

but

Mar-Sixtus.

but neither was it so strange or vnwonted, but that your diuelish practises doo daily patterne and match it; who was it that tempered and presented an empoysoned cup to Iohn King of England, but Simon of Swinstead a Cistercian Monk, of the order of the Bernardines? Who made away young Charles, the Sonne of Phillip now King of Spayne: but the accursed Friers of the order of Saint Iherome? For how would they spare to suck the blood of the Sonne, who imposed it as a penance vpon the Father, to suffer a beyne in his body bee cut, to voyde out a little heretick blood? Or tell me else, how oft of late your predecessors and your selfe, haue hallowed the hands of Priests and Iesuites to offer violence, and most vntreuerently to rampe vpon the person of our Queene: why therefore (Sixtus) albeit the worke were odious and accursed, yet was there neither wonder nor novelty in it, onely this was rare and wonderfull to heare, that Sixtus should be a patron and defender of it.

But let vs proceede and come to his narration: *A Monke* (saith Sixtus) *hath slaine a King*: Make roomie good people, heare comes a figure; *A Monke hath slaine a King*, not a painted King, where note that Kings are of two sorts, either painted Kings, or liuing Kings: not one figured out vpon a peece of paper, or vpon a wall, where wee learne agayne to our great comfort, that Kings are paynted two wayes, either vpon a peece of paper, or vpon a wall, but he hath slaine the King of France, in the middle of his armie, hedged in, and garded on euery side. *Claudite iam riuos*, *sa* dixit; And brauely was it spoken, but alacke that such a figure should haue such luck. This figure in rethorick we call a Preoccupation, the speciall vse and grace whereof is to preuent an obiection, and yet not euery one, but such as iustly might arise, or els to preuent a false vnderstanding of our words, and yet not euery one, but such as the hearer might easily fall into, as when the Lord by the mouth of Amos had sayd, *I will send a famine into the land*, least the people should grossely vnderstand him of a bodily famine, as easily they might, he addeth further, *not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the word of the Lord*: but was euer man so fantastickall, as when Sixtus had sayd, *A Monke hath slaine a King*, presently to conceaue of a peece of paper, or of an

Amos.8.11

Image,

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Image, or of a picture vpon a wall: But these are your popelike Apologies, with friuolous trifles and topes impertinent to de-
lude our patience, to abuse our expectation. And yet when I call
to minde againe the Authoz of this Apologie, and considering it
was his holines which wrote it, I cannot say it was altogether
needles, for well wee vnderstand your rage and furie to bee such,
that many times when ye cannot wreake your selues vppon the
man, ye coape and encounter with his shadowe, ye practise vpon
his picture; we knowe it (Sixtus) we knowe it well whose monu-
ments ye haue mangled, whose pictures ye haue martyred, whose
Sepulchers ye haue defaced, whose bones ye haue burnt, euen
like a fearce and angrie dogge, which because he either cannot or
dare not set vpon the man, for very madnes bites vpon a stone:
and happely in such a heate your Monke might haue crucified the
picture of his King, or els at vnawares he might haue spoyled
the Image or sacred Idoll of some deceased Prince; for Images
are men, and Idols are a kind of people to. A Stranger trauieling
sometime to Rome, and seeing their Churches, and houses and
Streates, and euery corner full of Images, reported at his returne
that Rome had two sorts of people, Men and Images; and so in
regard of these double senses that preoccupation was not alto-
gether amisse, *A Monke hath slaine a King, not painted or pictu-
red vpon a wall, but the King of France, in the middle of his ar-
mie.*

But let vs descend vnto the proofes of this Apologie, the ar-
guments whereof for that they be entangled one within another,
we will for our better proceeding reduce into order, and prosecute
them as seuerally and distinctly as we can. In euery place is vj-
ged and much ado is made about the prouidence of God, the often
inforcing whereof to what conclusion it directly tendeth, I do in-
genuously cōfesse it, I cannot see, but what it should proue & hath
in charge to proue it self expressly sheweth. *It was a work memo-
rable (sayth Sixtus) and neuer wrought without the speciall prou-
idence of the almightie.* And agayne, *We may not referre so notable
and straunge a worke to any other cause, then to the speciall prou-
idence of God.* And agayne, *These are all so manifest tokens of Gods
especiall prouidence, as no exception can be taken against them.* Et
vitulo

Mar-Sixtus.

vitulo tu dignus: Why (Sixtus) is any man so godlesse to deny the prouidence of God euen in those actions which are of the low-
 est and lightest accompt: I had thought that his prouidence had
 extended it selfe euen to Sparrowes, and that not a haire had fal- Luk.16.6.7
 len from our heads but by his prouidence: and who knoweth not
 that his eye doth so behold the mountaines, that not a moate es-
 capeth his sight, and that his care is so great ouer the greatest
 things, that it is no whit lesse ouer the least, onely Sixtus (I will
 not say denieth it) but in a sort calleth it into question. When the
 Scripture speaketh of a thing done (sayth Sixtus) it useth to under-
 stand not such a thing as is sayd to fall out by chance, by haphazard,
 or at auenture, but that which falleth out by the expresse will, pro-
 uidence, disposition, and government of God. Where we are to note
 that some things fall out by chance, and at auenture, and some by
 the will and prouidence of God. Thus to serue our turnes God
 shall gouerne when wee list, and when wee list Fortune shall be a
 God, Te facimus fortuna deam, and prouidence shall bee tyed to
 those actions which we please to grace and worship with a won-
 der: O times and manners, a Turke would not haue sayd so
 much, an Atheist could haue sayd no moze. But come wee to the
 popnt: It was not done without the speciall prouidence and dis-
 position of God; how then: I hope the act is not thereby iusti-
 fied: for if it be, then let Iudas triumph as a Saint in heauen, be-
 cause his treacherie was by prouidence, because the Prophet sayd
 befoze in the person of Christ, that he which did eate bread with
 him had lift vp his heele against him. Then let Sixtus call a Con- Psal.41.9.
 sistorie, and publish his Apologie in defence of those disturbers,
 agaynst whom Saint Iude inueyed, because they were appoynt- Ind.4.
 ed by prouidence, and were ordayned of old vnto that condemna-
 tion. Indeede if God did winke at the wickednesse of sinners, as
 neither regarding nor disposing, nor foreseeing their abomina-
 tions, I should conclude with Sixtus, that whersoever there were
 any print of his prouidence, the action might immediatly be iusti-
 fied and commended, but well I see his finger mouing, and his
 prouidence to haue a sway and direction euen in the course of
 things vnlawfull. Shall there be (sayth Amos) an euill in a citie,
 and the Lord hath not done it? not charging God to bee a princi- Amos.3.6.
 pall

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Exod. 10. 1.

pall agent and authoz of euill things: for God is not the authoz of euill, but onely to be a permitter: & so as vnieste he permit, the diuell himselfe can do nothing. But ye will say that Amos speaketh not of euill woorkes, but of euill plagues, and so God may be a principall authoz. But then God sayth in another place, *I haue hardened Pharaoes hart*: that is, I haue by prouidence permitted the diuell to harden it: so did hee by prouidence deliuer vp his sonne into the hands of Pilate, and so did hee put the life of a wortheie and lawfull King into the hands of a base and butcherly Frier. But what of this? I graunt these actions in regard of Gods secret counsaile were most iust and lawfull: and yet in respect of the authozs who had no right or reason to execute them, I say they were iniurious and vnnaturall. Therefore listen (Sixtus) and learne of me to drawe an argument from Gods prouidence. When I see that God by the hands and ministerie of men hath wrought some straunge and wonderfull worke, I presently conclude, that in regard of him the worke was iust, because euen so it was his good will and pleasure: but for the ministers and instruments of the worke, except I see that they had right to do it, that their end was honest and lawfull in it, and that they proceeded by no indirect meanes vnto it, I am not bound to iustifie or commend them: for then were euery theefe and murderer acquit at the barre, because he had to pleade that whatsoeuer he did was ordered by prouidence: and so the prouidence of God shall not onely serue for a stale to iustifie all villanies already committed, but to further and helpe out whatsoeuer we shall conceaue or contriue hereafter.

But list a while: It was not onely done (sayth he) by the prouidence and appoyntment, but by the assistance of God: blasphemous as thou art, I blush to heare thee: was it not enough to defend a bold and shameles murderer, but must thou also bring in God as accessarie and assistant to the fact? I graunt that GOD permitted him: but how shall I knowe, or whence doest thou gather that his helping hand was present with him? Didst thou see the spirit of God descending downe vpon him? Thou liest (Sixtus) we sawe when Iuppiter in a showe of gold assayed, and persecuted, & pearced him, with whom it was as easie to sinke through a
Friers

Mar-Sixtus.

Friers cōwle, as through the cyles of a fenced and garded tower. Indeed it was a spirit that moued him, but such a one as moued Judas to betray Christ; not the spirit descending in the shape of a Dove, for that spirit induceth to meekenes, and not to murther: Math. 3. 16. neither was it the spirit which sat vpon the Apostles in the shape of elouen tongues; for that spirit did so appeare to poynt out a Churchman his weapon, and to shewe that he might strike with no weapon saue with the tongue: and if it happened that Peter Act. 2. 3. should drawe out his sword (as the Donke did his knife) then presently a voice was pronounced, *put vp thy sword into thy sheath:* but that could take no hold of the Donke (sayth Sixtus) for his knife was without a sheath: In a word, it was no celestiall inspiration, it was not the abundance of the spirit, but the spirit of abundance which moued him, the onely argument which perswaded Judas, we will giue thee thirtie peeces of siluer, and he deliuered Mat. 26. 15. them the man: for how should wee thinke that he was stirred by to this act by any secret instinct and zeale of conscience, in whose life did neuer appeare any sparke of conscience or religion, but all as an vndeuous and vnoyered Atheist; for humane Sciences or diuine speculation nothing was in him admirable, nothing commendable, nay nothing vulgar, but as a most rude and vnlettered idiot, inferiour to the lowest of that monasticall societie; for life and conuersation (I shame to tell it) what was he but a most impure and lecherous Satyr? how oft was he traced and found, and fetcht out of the Stewes: how was hee publikely chastised for his vnchastitie? And to shewe that at the first he was enforst to that profession, how oft did he assaye to deliver himselfe by flight, euen as it were repenting his former bowe, groaning vnder the burthen of his profession, and still crying, *Cupio dissolui, I desire to become a newe man*, looking alwayes backe to the lay mans life as Lots wife did to Sodom, and in a manner wishing hee had been turned into a pillar of Salt when he was first made a Frier, and yet this Donke, this Frier Clement was the man, the man I say vnto so foule a worke instructed, inspired, nay assisted by God.

But gesse agayne and tell me, how knowe ye that God was assistant to the worke? Because forsooth he had so promised to see

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at libertie the citie of Paris, and to make ye beholden to him, and to yeeld him immortall thanks for deliuering the Church from so great dangers. But soft a while, your Church is not yet deliuered, nor yet is Paris set at libertie; nay neuer was it in such miserie: but were all as well as ye wish, yet see I no reason why GOD should be drawne in as accessary to the murther of the King, considering that no act is iustified by the successe. And certainly I can not see what cause ye haue to boast of successe, or of any great deliuerance by his death, since whose death all your forces haue been forceles, your attempts and intencations fruitles, and whatsoever ye haue taken in hand it goeth backward: so farre was God from furthering you in the murther, that euen for the murther he hath scourged and afflicted you euer since; which vndoubtedly if he had furthered, as intending by it to worke out your deliuerance and release (as vainly ye boast) then neuer had he installed Nauarra, a profestemie to your practises and proceedings: but your miserie was there but begun where ye thought it had been ended; bethinke with your selues, how ye are now become defenders, who before that murther were the onely assailants and besiegers: consider how often ye are now inforced and driuen into holes, whose vnccontrolled rebellions and tumultuous assemblies, all France before was hardly able to holde: consider since that time how many thousands of ye haue been slaughtered, how your Nobilitie hath declined, your Catholike townes haue revolted and recopled: remember since that time the successefull attempts of the King against you, his victorie at Diepe, his Ashwednesday triumph, his entring into the Suburbs at Paris, the conquests obtained in the countreys of Vendosme, of Mayenne, and almost all Normandie: remember if ye can with shame, the shamefull retreat of Parma, the glorious recouerie of Corbeil, which after it was with 18. Cannons the space of five long weekes battered, besieged, and in the ende surrendred, yet was it in a trice regained and repossessed by the King; I may not speake of halfe. Remember how but yester day were wrested from your hands the townes of Louiers, of Noyan, of Mont-morillon, and Chivigny: remember how since that murther your capital Priests and Cardinals, swozne liegemen to the Apostolick See, haue united and

knit

Mar-Sixtus.

knit themselves against you; as namely, the Cardinall d'Gondi, the Cardinall of Armignac, the Cardinall of Lenoncourt, with the yong Cardinall d' Vendome, brother to the late Prince of Conde: remember how of late your great God Pan, Gregorie the 14. now sweeping the Scepter, and sitting vpon the Papall seate is debarred and excommunicate from all Apostolicall iurisdiction, and how in his stead a Primate in France is created, how his Bulls were burnt, how his Legat Laudriano by a bitter summon was cited to appearance; which things no doubt are strange and vnhheard of, and portend to Babylon some speedie ruine and desolation. Thus God deliuereth Paris, releaseth your Church, furthereth your attempts, and fauoureth your murthers.

You tell vs a long tale of Iudith and Eleazar, out of which examples you streine and strue to bring some matter of commendation to your Donke: and albeit I will not vtterly condemne so great aduentures vnderaken for the Church; yet could I haue wished in Iudith an honeste meanes of proceeding: and truth to say, I see in Eleazar neither meanes nor purpose honest. Why a woman in the Church defence might not hazard her person, I see no reason to countermaund it; but neither do I see what warrant she had, to put her fame, her good name and honestie vpon such a venture, which she ought to haue tendred as dearely as the whole Church: wee may not doo the least euill to procure the greatest good; and might Iudith then a modest and religious Matrone in the Church behalfe demeane her selfe so vnHonestly: might she trick out her selfe so inticingly, or compose her countenance wantonly: might she paint out her face, set out her haire, and strumpe-like maske out in a lawne or linnen weede to stirre vp the concupiscence of a lewd and incontinent Teacher: I say that Iezabel 2.Kin.9.30. could doo no more to Iehu: and why she should not stand answerable for his sinne whom she had tempted vnto sinne, let Sixtus tell if he can: beside all this, I speake not of her odious flattering, her cunning dissembling, her lewd iying to insinuate and incroach into the bosome of Holofernes, as though that to a lawfull act we might proceede by flattering, dissembling and iying, by booke or crooke, by all vnlawful meanes, & so we creepe in it mattereth not, whether it be by the doore or by the windowe: but he that entreteth

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Ioh. 10. 1. not in by the doore is a theefe and a robber : and what though
 God gaue successe and prospered the attempt: that hallowed not
 the meanes ; for so did he saue the babes of the Israelites by the
 Exod. 1. 19. dissembling of the Midwives, and yet was not their lye iustified.
 But come wee to the fact of Eleazar, and see what a perfect pat-
 terne it is for a Monk and murtherer to work by: Eleazar aduen-
 tured his life to hazard the life of Antiochus ; but would to God
 he had but barely aduentured it: it is one thing for a man to put
 himselfe vpon an uncertayne hazard, but another thing to cast
 himselfe desperatly into danger of ineuitable death; which how it
 can be done, and the partie so proceeding not taintred with y guilt
 of his owne death, I professe I knowe not, I desire to be instruc-
 ted. But let not Sixtus tell me of Samson, pulling downe a house
 vpon his owne head, wee knowe what spirit it was that mo-
 ued him to it; another doubtles then that which moued Eleazar;
 for why? your text bewrayes it to be the spirit of paynglozie, and
 Maca. 6. 44. sayth, *he scoparded himselfe to deliuer his people and get himself a
 perpetuall name*: A speach vndoubtedly so disagreeing from the
 spirit of humilitie, as when I reade it me thinks I heare the voice
 of Ajax, of Hector, or Achilles: and howsoeuer I could haue
 borne it in a Pagan, in Eleazar it was intollerable: for what could
 be vttered moze heathnisch or prophane? What moze derogatory
 from the glozie of God, vnlesse he had affected the deitie & throne
 of God; for glozie belongeth to him, and his glozie hee will not
 giue to another. The Saints of God are alwaies commended in
 the Scripture, for that they neuer sought to bee commended, but
 though they had brought to passe matters of great and memo-
 rable atchieuement, yet alwayes they cryed, not vnto vs O Lord,
 not vnto vs, but to thy name giue the glozie. When Dauid vn-
 dertooke to encounter with Goliath, he protested of himselfe that
 he had no other end then that all the world might knowe that Is-
 rael had a God. But see the difference; when Eleazar undertooke
 to ouerthrow Antiochus, the author of that Scripture sayth, his
 end and purpose was to magnifie himselfe, that all the world and
 after-times might know, that Israel had an Eleazar, vnto which
 end howsoeuer he might successfully arrive, yet he could not but
 unlawfully aspire: for wisely the heathen Philosophers teach vs,
 that

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that honour is a good thing if it be not sought for: and Christian philosophie teacheth the same, that when it cometh vnlookt for it is the blessing of God; but being ambitionly aymed at, he doth but nicke-name it that calleth it not baynglorie. Thus haue wee noted in Iudith an end commendable, but meanes indirect; but in Eleazar we can commend neither end nor meanes as lawfull: for neither may a man hang himselfe to pleasure his friends, neither pleasure his friends to get himselfe a name: & yet these examples are cited to appeare as honest witnesses to commend the fact of a murdering parricide. But notwithstanding, howsoever there were in them defects and corruptions to blemish and make them appeare vn honest, yet in this are more and farre more grievous: for compare them together, and see what inequality is betweene them. For first, neither did Iudith nor Eleazar lay vyolent hands vpon their owne Prince, as did this sauadge Donke vpon the person of Henry his Soueraigne Lord and Ledge: neither of them (I say) despayned their hands with the bloud of him to whom they had sworne any fealtie or obedience; neither was Eleazar to Antiochus, nor Iudith to Holoernes, but as to a stranger, and not so onely but as to a professed enemy, whom in the time of open hostilitie, for the benefite of our King and Countrey, wee not onely may, but must, and by discipline of warre are bound to endamage and annoy. Thus see I not what matter here was either to prouoke the Donke to so bloudie an execution, or els to helpe out Sixtus with his prophane Apologie. Secondly, as they did execute their wrath vpon strange and foraine Princes, enemies to their state and countrey, so likewise vpon the enemies of God and of his trueth. For well wee knowe that Antiochus did abrogate the circumcision, burnt the booke of the lawe, erected Altars of abomination, and compelled the people to offer by Swines flesh and vncleane Sacrifices vpon them: and what was the quarrell of Holoernes but a matter of religion? because the people refused to adore and reuerence Nabuchadnezzar as a God: from which so grievous inforcements and charging of their consciences, who would not ieopard his life to release and set free his countrey? But neither had your holines nor that shaueling Frier any such cause of grievance, as might exasperate

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and inrage him to such crueltie. For why, a Donke hath slaine a King, not a strange or forraine King, not a sworne or vowed enemy, not a King of a contrary worship or deuotion, but hee hath slayne his owne King, rightfully raigning, meekely ruling, and wisely gouerning, a King of his owne disposition, profession, religion; without pittie cruelly, without conscience wickedly, without cause vniustly. Ah Sixtus, no maruaile is it though ye seeke to drench your swords in the bloud of protestant Princes, when ye spare not your neerest and dearest friends: full well ye knewe that Henry was a bird of your owne brooding, a Catholike of your owne Church: full well ye knewe that he had both faithfully serued you, and studiously endeouored to please you, when as (God knoweth) hee little regarded to please his Creator, and could yee not winke at some fewe offences, but must yee needes proceed to such rigour and extremitie? O pride and tyranny intolerable: how better were it to serue a Turke or Pagan, then to beare a burthen in your poake, from whose rage and furie (when ye list to bee furious) neither King, nor kindred, nor loue, nor respect of religion can priuiledge or defend.

But Sixtus hapnely will say, he did not compare them for the honestie, but only for the difficultie and wonderment of the work: and certainly for aught I see hee standeth not much vpon the honestie thereof: enough it is for him to wonder at the boldnes of the aduenture, for no other commendation hee giueth to his Donke, then a man might well affoord to a ryotous and desperat ruffen. Therefore, since it cannot bee prooued to bee so honest, let vs trye what courage and valour, what difficulties and wonders abounded in it, that it should bee not onely compared, but preferred aboue the hardie aduentures of Iudith and Eleazar, in regarde of whome, a base and ruffenly Fryer is not onely ioynd to susteyne the comparison as a competent match or coriuall, but most highly magnified as exceeding matchles and supereminent: for so sayth Sixtus, that albeit for zeale and valour of minde, and for the issue of the thing attempted, there were some resemblance or equalitie betweene them, yet for the rest there was no one thing comparable. But wonderfully hath
his

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his holines ouershot himselfe : for let vs suppose those examples to bee as Canonically as some would they were , and see then not onely to the persons themselues compared , but vnto the spirit of G D D how foule an indignitie is offered : when the holy Ghost in Scripture proposeth to our view some famous example as a patterne of imitation , it lightly commendeth such a one as no president of antiquitie before , neyther of the posteritie to come shall bee able to affoord the like : as, who can either rayse vp from the memorie of the dead, or summon out an example from men aliue to match with Iobe in patience, with Moses in meekenes, with Abraham in faith, with David in courage, with Samson in might : And if Sixtus hauing searched throught the Scripture for some rare example and mirrour of magnanimitie, did picke out and chosse Eleazar for the best, I would knowe what warrant his worship had in a Cloyster of Monkes, a nest of Fryers, in a den of Diuells to shewe a better : but what did Fryer Clement so renowned or aduenturous that Eleazar came so short of him : If ye marke but the manner of proceeding and passing forward to the worke, Eleazar did farre surpasse him : for let Sixtus bee iudge and tell mee whether hee did more desperately aduenture himselfe, which to breake into the middle of an Armie had no other way but as a knowne and open enemye through ranks and millions of men to make passage with his sworde, or hee who as a supposed friend came sneaking in a Fryers weede vnarmed, vnharrest, vnweaponed, with a fauning looke, with a letter of passeport in his hande, with a string of Beades at his side, with a Crucifixe at his breast, with all habiliments of his profession, so as no matter of suspicion, of feare, of doubt was ministred to indanger him, I would knowe of Sixtus who did aduenture most. Yea but (sayth he) Eleazar was a profest Souldier, trained vp in armes and in the field, whereas our Monke was neuer brought vp in such broyles, and therefore in him it was more admirable whatsoeuer was atchieued. I answer agayne, that as hee was a Souldier, so his attempt was more martiall and Souldierlike, so was it executed without all colour in the
forme

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forme and person of a Souldier brauely, by dint of sword vndauntedly, in the broad and open field valiantly; and who can admire a close and priuy murderer, whose practises are so abhorring both from humanitie, as nature detesteth them for abhominable, and courage condemneth them as arguments of vndoubted cowardice, and certainly I see not what manhood is required to slaughter a man in his Chamber, which euery base and timorous minde may accomplish, yea euen he *which cannot endure to see himselfe let blood*, for vnto such kinde of reuenge no man for shame proceedeth, but he who in great faintnes and weakenes of minde, continually meditateth of flight and escape: yea but saith Sixtus againe, Eleazar knew both his manner of death and place of buriall: why therefore should I thinke that his attempt was more couragious, for where the hope of life is lesse, the aduenture and courage vndoubtedly is more, but hee knew so certainly of his death, that he could likewise diuine of his graue; but hardly I brooke to heare of so foule an vntueth, that your Frier was so sore afraid of *certaine death, and vncertaine torments*, for why, your factors and agents in the cause, had prouided a double medicine to salue that feare, for so wisely they wrought to prouoke this parricide to resolute vpon execution, that notwithstanding the aduenture in sight were perilous, yet both in regarde of that policy which they had at home contriued, as also of the furtherance and assistance which in the campe of the King they expected, there was a double comfort ministred; at home they had so prouided, that so many within the walls of Paris, as were either knowne, or suspected to be by nere affinity allyed, or by affection carried to fauour either the King or any his ayders and associates, that so many should be apprehended, and laid by as pledges and hostages, for the safe returne of the Frier, which doubtles would so bridle the fury of the Kings friends, that notwithstanding himselfe before were murdered, yet to ransome the liues and liberties of their friends, they would bee content to dismisse the Frier & send him back to Paris: againe they perswaded him, that in the Kings own campe there was abundāt hope of present assistance to be supplied, for if it so fel out that the King were dispatched, then so many of his traine as secretly fauored the League would

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would be present, and at hand to assist him, but the contrary part would be so amazed at the suddaine alteration, that euery man would rather apply his wittes how to saue himselfe, then to execute reuenge vpon the malefactor, and so our brother Clement could not choose but scape: this most infallibly is the trueth, this was the perswading and proceeding with the Frier, who in a fooles paradise, and conceite of a certaine returne, *tangham asinus ad cadem*, went forward to his worke, which howsoever it succeeded unluckily, yet out of doubt better fortune was expected, in regarde of which expectation, I affirme that there was neither imminent danger, nor certaine feare: therefore could not the adventure be so ventrous, that Captaine Eleazar with Frier Clement should change a coscelet to put on a cowle.

But as we haue compared him with Eleazar, let vs ioyne and match him with Iudith; I speak not of a matrimoniall coniunction, for Clement was a botary, neuer wedded to a wife, neuer furnisht with any part of a family, saue onely a few children, but I speake of a ioyning in comparison, for what though comparisons bee odious, yet Eleazar must goe downe, and Iudith must steepe to aduance a bloudy Frier to the skies; therefore as his holines had commended Eleazar, so dooth he likewise extoll Iudith, but both to that end that Clement might be superextolled, and commended aboue them both, for both men were inferiour to him, and many women haue come vnder him. But see how Sixtus extenuateth the fact of Iudith, which before he had so highly magnified, and all to enlarge the honour of a Monke; Iudith was a woman, and therefore more gracious, therefore for her sex and excellent beautie, might shee bee more easily admitted into the presence of Holofernes; I smile to thinke how Sixtus tickleth at the remembrance of Iudith, but who would not breake out and laugh, to see how hee beateth himselfe with his owne weapon, for if a Frier were therefore to be commended aboue a Souldier, if Clement aboue Eleazar, for that being a man of peace, and neuer trained vp to the field, he had ventured as far as a profess Souldier, then doubtles by the same reason was Iudith to bee preferred before Clement, for that being a woman, and therefore by nature more timorous, shee attempted as much and more than hee;

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yea but consider that as she was a woman, so *she was faire*, and as her sepe on the one side did dispose her to feare, so her beauty on the other side made her secure; yea Sixtus, wee consider it very well, and knowe that in Rome the argument is forcible; ful well we knowe that your Lateran pallace was neuer so surely lockt, but a woman at midnigh twight boldly and freely haue access. I let passe to speake of Iohn the twelfe and mistris Rainera, of Pope Segeus and his Morozia: I come to the matter, wherein against the beauty of Iudith, I doo oppose the profession of Clement, for neuer was woman moze welcome to Holofernes, then Monkes and Friers were to Henry. Ah silly man, I rue to speake it, his deuotion was fantastical, his affection was ouer foolish to them, and longer doubtles had he liued, if hee had neuer loued, nor reposed any confidence in them, and that those caitiffs knew full well, for which most inhumanely they repayed him that ill; therfore I say there was no cause why a Friar might not as securely aduenture himselfe into the boast of the King, as did Iudith into the tentes of Holofernes: therefore consequently there was no cause why his exploite should be extold aboue hers, as farre moze difficult and impossible; but what doo we speake of difficulties? Sixtus saith it was full of wonders, for after that letters of commendation from them of the contrary faction were sayned, which hee falsely saith were procured, see what a wonder fell out: Friar Clement passed out by that gate of the citie which lead vnto the enemies campe: O wonderfull, as if he should haue saide, he went but two miles when hee might haue gone ten, hee tooke the nearest way, when he might haue gone the farthest way about, whereas hee might haue passed out at a back or posterne gate, and so might haue gone from thence to Rome, from Rome to Iericho, from Iericho to *Vrsa maior*, from thence to Tyburne, from Tyburne to the diuell, and from him with a dispensation to the campe of the King: yet he (I say) tooke the nearest way, even passing out by that gate of the citie, which lead vnto the enemies campe: *Monstrum horrendum*, I thinke there was neuer such a wonder: why Sixtus doost thou wonder that he went not the farthest way about? Or that hee went to the campe about such a worke, his feete being naturally so swift to shed bloud? Or doost thou

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thou wonder that through that gate especially hee should passe without examination, I should rather haue wondred if any had been so bold to examine him, considering that they who set him about the worke were not so vnwise, but to take order for his safe conduct out of the citie, and so there was as free passage for him out of Paris, as there was for Iudith out of Bethulia; but see, see, here commeth another wonder; he did not onely passe through the gates of the city, but also through the campe of the enemies, through the seuerall watches and sentinells, and through the garde which was next the body of the King; how say ye by this? Was not this a terrible wonder? His holines meruaileth that the Frier was so freely receaued in the enemies campe, that he was not examined, that hee was not killed, as though no man should looke vpon a Frier, but presently hee should drawe out his dagger and stabbe him: I answer his holines againe, that happely those watchmen and warders did not see him, perhaps he wēt inuisible: When the first dag was discharged at the Prince of Orange, a priest in Antwerp had suborned a base scullian for the feate, to whome very charily he deliuered a stone of great balew, affirming that while hee had it about him, hee could not choole but goe inuisible, yea though he were in the Princes chamber; I knowe not whether your Frier had such a stone or no; but suppose hee had not, yet comming as an intelligencer for the campe, with letters of credence from the friends of the King, in a Friers weede peaceably, with all counterfeit submission friendly, I knowe not why hee should not be as easily admitted into the Kings owne pavilion, as Iudith was into the tent of Holoernes; but this thing in Iudith was wonderfull, which his holines neuer considered, that notwithstanding she aduentured her selfe as farre as shee did, yet vnpolluted, vnhurt, vntouched, she returned home safe and aliuie againe, and if it had so fallen out with Clement, that after the murder committed hee had handsomely escaped and come away, then had it been somewhat, then had it been a wonder: but see the hard hap, when it came to the issue, when it stood vpon the making or marring, either to proue a wonder or no wonder, why then the miracle was marred, the Donke was slaine: O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodnes, and declare what won-

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ders are done among the sonnes of men. But list againe, we thinke I heare Balaams asse speaking, the Pope is become a Prophet, and to commend this impious act, hee alleageth a prophetic of his owne, conspiring with the end and fall of the King, *wee did heretofore with some griefe foretell that he was like to come to some strange and shamefull end:* how can wee now but accept his censure vpon the fact, who did so diuinely prophetic and foretell of the fact: but will ye not beleue that his holines did so prophetic? Will ye require our witnesses? Will ye put vs to our proofes? Why then we call to witnes the Cardinalls of Ioyeuse, of Paris, and of Lenoncort. Ah Sixtus, thou canst not so deceaue vs; the signes are many, the proofes are too pregnant against you; your self foretold his end: we beleue it, for wel might you diuine of his death, whose death your selfe had contriued, and yet bee no more a Prophet, then a Iudge which sitteth vpon the bench, and saith, this thiefe shall dye to morrow, not because hee seeth it by diuination, but because it is in his hand to acquit or condemne him, and so I may iustly say, that Sixtus did not Prophetic but threaten: for if eury prediction should make a Prophet, then should the diuell bee a great one, who beholding the necessary concurrence of the causes, dooth many times foretell aright of the effects; in this order (Sixtus) and in no other dost thou Prophetic: I apeale to thine owne conscience, when the first relation of the Guize his death was made, when the first newes were brought, didst thou not then vow thy selfe to auenge it? Didst thou not afterward contriue the meanes to work it? Didst thou not encourage the Leaguers to it? Didst thou not promise a perpetuall pardon to him that should attempt it? And being now done, hast thou not endited a sweete Apology for it? And yet who now is Sixtus? Whome shall men say that he is? Is he not Elias, or some one of the Prophets? But not he alone, but many other did thus Prophetic, among whom let Gregory himselfe be one, who as he now succeedeth Sixtus in his seate, so did he exceede him in the murder, for which by a French Cardinall, his holines is now notoriouly apealed; Thus treacherie and murder is impaled with a triple crowne; thus traitors and murderers sit in Peters chaire: beside, we are to note that he did not onely and barely Prophetic it, but
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with some griefe and feeling of his fall : alas poore Sixtus, how sorely his heart was grieued ? But shall we pittie him then, or shall wee rather disdaine and detest him ? Foule hipocrite and Crocodile as thou art, couldst thou weepe for him, when as thou didst intend so mortally against him ? Full well thou mightest haue redressed that griefe, if thou hadst been truely aggrieved ; but as Absolon feasted Ammon, and Iudas kissed Christ, so didst thou lament his fall ; for if thou didst indeede lament it, what moued thee to endite so triumphing an Apology vpon it, and to erect a Trophe, where greater cause was to write an Epitaph ? Why didst thou debarre him from all dirges, masses, and trentalls, from al dead mans rites and funerall solemnities ? Did the feare of the losse so afflict thee, and could the losse be so pleasing to thee ? He Sixtus, he, dissemble not with the world, thy hipocrisie is too manifest, thou didst not propheticie, thou wast not aggrieved, nor canst thou so easily bleare our eyes.

Hauiug thus foolishly mooted and declaimed of thine own propheticall spirit, thou preparest at length by a personall inuective to disgorged thy gall agaynst the King, by the impeachment and defamation of whose honour thou addrestest thy selfe to conuince the execution done vpon him for iust and warrantable, *His great offences, his shamefull death, his small impenitencie* : but albeit I must in part confesse some of these as true, yet I loath to see thee raking in the dust of a dead mans bones, whose sinnes if they ought to be buried in silence, much lesse should they be misreported and maliciously amplified. Wee confesse the offences of the King were grievous, and heynous, and of necessitie we must confesse what all the world so evidently sawe, because the sinnes of Kings and Princes cannot be vnseene ; neither can a citie bee hid that is set vpon a hill : but neuerthelesse, we do not acknowledge those for sinnes in wreake and reuenge whereof this direfull tragedie was performed. For shall we say his Maiestie did offend in executing iustice vpon that recreant Guize, a furious and braynsicke rebell, together with Lodwicke his brother then Cardinall of Lorraine ? As though a King may not correct the misdemeanour of his subiects, but an Italian Priest shall step out to countermaund and controll it : but how had the Guize then misde-

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meaned himselfe, or wherein had he passed beyond his bounds? Ah God, is that now called in question? O shall wee now begin to endite him, at whose boldnes & rebellion all Kings in Christendome for these twentie yeares haue stood amazed? Whome neyther reuerence of authoritie, nor feare of lawes, nor law of nature could keepe within his bounds. But let that goe, wee speake of later attempts, euen of the treacherie which then he intended against the King when he was apprehended and murdered, which vndoubtedly hee had effected, had not his brother Charles d' Maine opened & disclosed it before. Yea, but suppose the Guize had offended, yet was it tyranny without formall and iudiciall processe of lawe preceding to fall to execution. Indeede (Sixtus) it is true when delay is boyd of danger: but if a route of theeues haue so beset my way as I must eyther immediatly slay, or be immediatly slayne, I hope there is no lawe agaynst me if in that distresse I neglect the triall of lawe, and worke out my deliuerance with my sword: for that is a law which we haue not learned, not receaued, not heard, but a lawe which wee haue suckt out of our mothers breasts, in which we were not informed, but bred; not instructed, but inspired; not by discipline composed, but by nature prepared, that no honest way of defending our life and state should bee left vntryed; and shall wee then condemne the speedie execution vppon the Guize and Lodwicke his brother for dishonest, which could not bee one day deferred without indaungering the life and dignitie of the King? No (Sixtus) no, we confesse the offences of the King were grievous, yet this was no offence: but if we list endite him, wee could vbrayd and charge him with matters of greater moment, which albeit wee are loath and grieue to doe, yet in regard of that Antichristian tyranny which in his life he practised, and for which he was punished in his death we may not be ouer silent, and so much the lesse for that we would prouoke ye to repentance, least as ye haue exceeded him in his sinne, so ye receaue a greater measure of iudgement.

When in his life tyme we called to minde how sorely and bitterly he did afflict the Church, how freely he suffered the confederates of the League to assault and insult vpon them, and how often himselfe had personally vnsheathed his sword agaynst them,
we

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We could not expect but that though God winked for a time, yet in time he would manifest his iudgements on him, and when the fulnes of time was expired it fell out as wee feared: for so soone as in his last Parliament holden at Bloys, he had most wickedly vaunted of his victozies agaynst the Church, and boastingly reported what harme and scath hee had done them (which was in deed the fulnes of his sinne) this vengeance immediatly fell vpon him, euen as Sixtus himselfe (a strange thing to consider) within lesse then a yeare after his Apologie and triumphing in so notorious a murther, was dispatcht and taken out of the world: beside, we could report how he secretly encouraged the Leaguers to effusion of bloud, how himselfe was by in armes before the walles of Rochel, and that for no other cause but for the Gospel: and that which neuer will be wiped out, how at that notable occision and famous slaughter, surnamed the great massacre, being but a strippling boy hee bathed and embzued his hands with innocent bloud, which doubtlesse hath since been so well repayed vpon the heads of the murtherers, as fewe of them consozted in the worke whom God did not after marke out with some notable iudgement, in so much as euen the Catholiks themselves haue obserued that most of them came to euill ends: some of them being afterward endited, conuicted, and hanged vp for malefactors: others desperately murthering and hanging themselves, and they who were enriched by the spoyle dying so beggerly, so miserable and poore, as not a peny was left to buy a halter: but for thē who were the slaughter-masters and ringleaders of that rpot, it is playne and manifest how God hath plagued and scourged them, considering how the Guize himselfe was prickt & stabd to death, the Duke of Ioyeuse was slayne in the battaile at Couraz, the late King Henry murthered with an infectious knife, and Charles the 9. his brother (as some say) popsoned, or dyed as others report of a fluxe of bloud, which at his mouth, his eares, and nostrils, yea at euery passage both vpward and downward issued from him, euen as it were vomiting out in his death the bloud which in his life hee had so eagerly suckt: and certainly God plagued the house of Valoys, for that of foure brethren, wherof three successiuely raigned, no seede was left to sit vpon the throne: I speake not of the Marshall d' Retz,

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Retz, of Catharine d' Medices Queene Mother and monster of France, noꝝ many other moe, whose deaths albeit they were suspected, yet foꝝ that they were doubted I leaue them as matters of vncertaintie. But wonderfull it is to consider, how manifestly God alwayes auenged himselfe vppon the Leaguers and other French persecuters : During the rage and furie agaynst the Saints which were in Prouence, in Merindol and Cabriers, which was soone after the yeare 1530. how did God note out the chiefe persecuters with some apparant & memorizable iudgement? The Lord of Reuest high President of þ Parliament at Aix ran mad and dyed, Lewis d' Vaine was drowned in the riuer of Durance, Bartholomeus Cassaneus was stricken with a sodayn death, Miniers Lord of Opede being not able to boyd it was burnt with his owne vrine, and with much impatience and blasphemie consumed away, Ihon de Roma a Iacobine Monke and chiefe Inquistoz in this persecution rotted peece meale, and dyed in such stench, as being dead men were sayne with a hooke to dregge him into a ditch : Soone after all this succeeded Henry the second King of France, a grieuous oppressor of the Church, who aduancing himselfe at the Turney, was stricken with a speare into the brayne and dyed : after him succeeded Francis the second, who after one yeares raigne and little moze, was taken away by an Impostume in the head. I speake not of Francis the olde Duke of Guize, who was slaine by Poltrat with a dag befoze Orleans, neither of the Marshall of Saint Andrewes who dyed befoze Dreux, noꝝ of the Constable of France who was slayne at Paris, noꝝ speake I of the late Cardinall of Lorraine shamefully strangled with a corde, noꝝ of Francis of Valoys, whom some report to haue dyed of a venereous contagion ; others gather by the arraignment of the Lord of Salcedde that he was subtilly and secretly made away : but as they were profest enemies and persecuters of the Church, so were they scourged foꝝ their crueltie : and what shall befall the remainder, since of so cursed a crue so many still remayne, I cannot, I dare not prophecie: but sure I am that God is iust, and will not tolerate so foule offenders to triumph in impunitie.

Neuerthelesse, what I haue sayd, to this ende haue I sayd it,
that

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that all the world might see that they were not the offences you
 dreame of, for which GOD deliuered vp this King to so open a
 iudgement, not for reciding or falling away from you, but rather
 for cleauing too fast vnto you, for that foolish and indulgent loue
 he carried toward you, and for his mortall hate agaynst y^e Church
 and Saints of God, whom as with other he persecuted, so with
 other he perished: so that whatsoeuer his offences were, wee all
 confesse he was a grievous offender. But how then? shall Peters
 successor therefore say to a Monke, as the holy Ghost sometyme
 sayd to Peter, *Arise and kill?* Was there no choyce, no discre-
 tion, no difference to bee made? Marke (Sixtus) a Poet can teach
 thee wit: *Etsi ego indignus qui hæc patiar tu tamen indignus*
qui faceres: Every man is not meete to execute iustice vpon every
 offender: suppose thy father had deserued death, yet art thou an
 vnfit man to appeale him, but more vnfit to bee his executioner.
 What if Saul deserued to bee depriued of his kingdome, yet was
 not every priuate man to lay vnhallowed hands vpon him: and
 graunt wee that Henry had heynously offended, will it therefore
 in reason followe that every miscreant Monke shall dare to pray
 vpon him? Saint Paule could not beare it that a Bishop or man
 of a spirituall profession should be a striker, and may he be a mur-
 therer? May, your selues deliuer vp to the secuier authoritie, whō
 before ye haue for heresie endited and condemned, to shew that ye
 may pollute your hands with no bloud, no not of most capitall
 transgressors, and may yee bath your hands in innocent bloud?
 We knowe he had highly offended the Maiestie of GOD, but in
 regard of you we dare auouch him innocent. But suppose he had
 as deeply offended you; the positie lawes giue this fauour to an
 offender, that notwithstanding hee hath been already arraigned,
 endited, condemned, and at the place of execution stand readie to
 be executed, yet he that shall offer violence to slay him, shall stand
 as lyable to lawe as if he had slayne another man. Is there such
 fauour affoorded to an offender after iudgement, and may ye mur-
 ther him whom ye neuer condemned, neuer conuined, neuer ac-
 cused? It was requisite that before your rigorous and deadly
 execution, ye should depose and depriue him from al kingly titles
 and authoritie; did ye euer so depriue him? It was expedient that

Act. 12. 13.

1. Tim. 3. 3.

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before that deprivation yee should first excommunicate him, for while he was a member of the Church he must needs be the head of his kingdome; did yee euer excommunicate him? Before yee could proceed to the Ecclesiasticall censure agaynst him, yee should first haue conuincd him as worthe of it; did yee euer so conuince him? Where was hee conuencd? when was it pleaded? who were the witnesses? what were the crimes objected against him? Forsooth he refused to assist the quarrell of the League: a shamefull vntrueth; he onely prevented the practises against his person, which were coloured by the quarrell of the League. Yea but he caused the Guize be slaine who was y^e Champion of the Church: good reason there was to doe it, because the Champion of the Church had conuerted his forces which were bestowed for the Church defence, to maintaine & vphold a ciuill quarrell, as namely the subuersion of the king, and inthroning himselfe in the kingdome: beside all this, I speake not of that foule indignitie which he offered the King when he forced him out of Paris, such a presumptuous and trapterous deede as could not bee punished with lesse then death: but howsoever the King had trespassed, yet being a King he ought to be solemnely endited, and not secretly bought and sould: his cause should be formally heard, and not closely smothered; his iudgement should be publikely notified, and not in a corner contrined; & his person should be arrested, not murdered.

Notwithstanding, sith God in his secret counsaile had so decreed it, let vs beare it as we ought, and lay the fault of so foule a murder where in right & equitie we ought. You did forget it that he was like to come to some strange & shameful end: but whose was the shame? a riotous ruffen hath beset the way, an innocent is intrapped, his mony is takē, his life lost, his body shamefully mangled, say foolish Apologizer; whose is the shame? Is this a prooue to approue the murder of a King? Suppose y^e tower of Silo had fallen vpon his head, is he therfore a greater sinner? I tel ye no; hast thou not read it that al things come alike to all, and that the same condition is to the iust and to the wicked, and that many times the wicked liue in prosperity and dye in peace, that their borne is exalted as the Cedar in Lebanon, as Tabor among the mountaines, when iust and vpright men are as a bottle parcht in the smoake,

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smoake, when such as Iob ly scraping vpon a dunghill; did not Pilate sit vpon the bench, when Christ stood at the barre: were not the Apostles martyred, the Prophets murdered, the saviour of the world crucified: All cut off by *strange and shamefull ends*; yet no man can conuince either him for a Dinner, or them for malefactorz, and why then should Henry so dying be adiudged to die a reprobate: Ah Sixtus, now doost thou speake as Antichrist, now doost thou blurpe the sword and seate of Christ: art thou already come to iudge the quick and dead: Is there no remission for his sinne, no pardon to be expected, no prayers to be powred, no hope but hell: O vile murderers, how delight ye in bloud, not content to kill the body, but to adiudge the soule; did yee see his soule descending to the lower partes: did ye heare him desperately crying, my sinne is greater then I am able to beare: Did yee heare God pronounce the sentence vpon him; *depart accursed*: but where then is Sixtus, and where is Clement, if Henry be in hell: full well ye teach vs to despaire of your selues, who endeavour to rob vs of so rich a hope: but rather had I yee should burne me for an heretick at a stake, then enroll me for a Saint in your Calender: vncharitable & vnchristian wretches, condemning for reprobates vnto euermlasting death, whose names God hath written in the booke of life, and canonizing for martirs, whom Turkes and Pagans would detest as murderers: but what ground had Sixtus to charge him with finall impenitency: Who euer saw so deepe into his soule: Who knew what sobbes, what groaning, what secret grieve might harbor in his heart: But neither did hee sorrow so in silence, as no signe of repentance was left behinde: in the presence of the standers by (who with watery eyes beheld him) he made an humble confession of his faith, powred out his prayers to God, receaued the Sacrament, confessed himselfe to a Frier, desired pardon for his sinne, besought God if it might bee, to lengthen his dayes, that for his life past, hee might make some amends: see, see, what signes of impenitencie, what tokens of distrust are here: After that, bethinking what might become of his people, he bequeathed them into the hands of Nauarra, whom he specially charged to be carefull ouer them: yea but he cried for vengeance vpon the authoers of his death, euen a little before

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his death: So cried David upon his death-bed against Ioab and Shimei, charging his Sonne Salomon, that for the offences they had committed against him, hee should not suffer them to goe to their graues in peace, and yet was David neuer charged with impenitence, as Henry is for the same reason; ye might first haue inquired whether it were in his hands to pardon them or no, for David doubtles if he could haue pardoned Ioab or Shimei, had neuer exclaimed for vengeance on them, but it lay not in his power to pardon them: such offences as are committed against our priuate state, or particular person, wee may and must forgive them, yea though they be seuentie seauen times committed; but an indignity offered to the person of a King, toucheth euen God himselfe, because they represent the maiesty of God, for which God graceth them with a title of his owne, *I haue said it, yee are Gods*: therefore in reason, the remission of such offences must be resigned vponely to God; could not David pardon Shimei, which had but barely railed on him, and must Henry either pardon a crew of damnable conspirators, which so prophanely murdered him, or must he be adiudged to dye impenitent? But how know ye he did not pardon them? Because he conuined Navarra, and such as stood about him, to take vengeance of those whome he surmised to bee the authors of his death: yea so he might, and yet pardon them to, for when Christ saith, *forgiue*, his meaning is not that euery notorious offender, should be acquit from outward censure of lawe, for that were to peruert iustice, and to ouerthrow all ciuill discipline; but to forgive him, is to intreate God for him, that his body being punished to the example of other, his soule at the great iudgement might be saued: and certainly if he might punish a traitor in his life, I see no reason why he might not as well doo it at the poynt of death, for why, the time cannot alter the nature of the action, but if it were iniustice to remit him before, hee could not with equitie pardon him then; therefore well might he say to Navarra as David said to Salomon: *Suffer not those murderers to goe to their graue in peace, & yet be translated to Heauen as David was*, whereof wee nothing doubt, but though his sinnes were as red as scarlet, & his hands all steepned with the blood of Martyrs, yet through the abundant grace of him, who forgave vnto Paule those many afflictions.

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afflictions he laid vpon the Church, we assure our selues that mercy is shewed vnto him, and all is washed away as white as snowe: yea but what will ye say, if beside all this he bequeathed the succession of his Kingdome to Nauarra, a pronounced and excommunicate heretick, must we not then say he dyed in his sinne? Yea there is your griefe, that is it that galleth you: but why should Nauarra be excluded, or what should deſeate him of his lawfull inheritance? Because forsooth, yee had proclaymed him for an heretick, and throwne out a thunderbolt against him; we know ye did, and well we remember how your chiefe agent the Guize, being suborned and set on for the worke, went about by an assembly of the estates holden at Bloys, to cause him to be publikely declared, as vncapable of al temporal inheritance and succession in France, we know ye expelled and cast him out: but what saith Saint Gregory, *sape qui foras mitteretur intus est, & foris est qui intus retinetur*: it may fall out that Ionas shall be cast out of the Ship, when Charn shall be reserved in the Arke, and yet neither the Arke retaining the one shall make him a member of the Church, nor shall the Sea swallowing by the other, exclude him from the presence of God: the Pope is like a waspe, no sooner angry, but out commeth a sting, which being out is like a fowles dagger, rattling and snapping without an edge, and though sometime their censure hath been forcible, yet in these degenerate times, since their first defection and apostacy, they haue stode in the holy place as idolls, keyes they haue and open not, stings they haue and prick not: the Pope did sometime excommunicate the Florentines, when the lawyers notwithstanding pronounced his excommunication voyde; and if your censure against Nauarra were as iust as it was famous, why did ye not then satisfie the challenge, which both he and the Prince of Conde demaunded at your hands, whereas immediatly after the sentence of excommunication passed out against them, they called for a general counsaile of christian Princes and Prelates, wherein they promised themselves in person to debate, and that hand to hand against your holines, whether the sentence so passed out against them were lawfull, and vpon lawfull causes pronounced, which challenge as it was published to the whole world, so was it fastened vpon your pallace gate in Rome, and yet after so foule

¶ 3

a refusal,

Martine

a refusall, and shunning of triall ye shame not still to crie out, a pronounced heretick, an excommunicate heretick; indeede we must confesse yee haue offered him triall, but such as neither the true Church doth willingly incline to, neither truely it selfe will bee decided by, when the word faileth ye fall to the sword; how often haue ye since that time prouoked him? Since the yeare 1586. five seuerall armies haue yee brought into the field against him: three in Guyen and Poictu, and two in Daulphin and Auergne: I speake not of the battaile at Coutraz, 1587. nor of the sundry inrodes and incursions, wherewith since his first inuesting with the Crowne, ye haue foreyed out against him; thus ye trie out the truely, defend your faith, and maintaine your cause: but good God, how hast thou deliuered him from their hands, euen as a bird escaping out of the snare of the fowler? When there was for number no equality, for humane power no proportion, when nothing was left to increase any expectation or hope of victorie, then didst thou cause him to triumph ouer their tyranny, as Dauid treading vpon the carcas of Goliath; which extraordinary fauour of God, if it were but ordinarily considered, it would turne the fury of a number into loyaltie and obedience, and teach them to know, that euen the angells in heauen are by in armes to garde him, against whom they haue carped armes so long; but God hath blinded their eyes, that they should not see: I speake it to your shame, ye frantick and vnbizdled Frenchmen: whome haue yee thus mortally pursued? Whome doe ye as yet with daily endeour persecute? The world is witnes that France neuer bred such a flower: would yee haue a martiall Knight? why then behold Nauarra, behold him (I say) after 20. yeares trouble, (the siege of Troy twise told) still conquering and suruiuing, valiant in armes, patient in labours, mercifull in victories, politick, successfull, aduentrous, a perfect soldier at all pointes; search but your Chronicles, and tell me, if Charles the great were euer greater; would ye haue a perfect and accomplisht gentleman? why the behold him, whose princely comportment and behauiour, staineth all Spanish Magnificoes, all Italian Machiauellists whatsoeuer, a man deeply instructed, civilly nurtured, royally descended, honestly disposed, a man affable without dissimulation, wise without subtilty, religious without

hipocrisie,

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hipocrisie, meek, liberal, modest, and euery way a Gentleman; but would ye haue a catholick? then stay a while, put by your swords, and he wil proue himselfe a catholick, let but a synod be assembled, a counsell called, let both parts speak, and the world shal soone see who is a catholick; in a word, will ye haue a King? then looke by. on Nauarra; to you I speake you rebellious Leaguers, which band your selues together against the Lord and his annoynted, which eate by Gods people as bread, and chop them in peeces as flesh for the Caldron; to thee I speake thou great Leuiathan, thou that dwellest in Lebanon, and makest thy nest in the Cedars, ye are the men which trouble Israel: but behold the time is at hand wherein God will bring agayne the captiuitie of Sion, and deliuer his Church as a brand taken out of the fire: your sinne is now at the height, your desolation draweth neere: alas, the great citie Babylon, the mightie citie: Babel must come downe and sit in the dust, the daughter Babel must sit vpon the ground. Did Charles of Burbon lay siege to Rome? did he sack your citie? and cause your Pope to be led as a prisoner? Take heede of Henry of Burbon; the house belike is fatall: beside, I tell ye it is ominous that the conductoz of your League the Duke of Guize was slayne vpon Nauarraes birth-day, men will shrewdly thinke that the coming in of Nauarra will be the casting out of the Guize, and take by a by-word (I feare me) Vbi Nauarrenus incipit Guisij desinunt: as if the exaltation of y^e house of Burbon should be the ruine of Romish Leaguers and of Rome, which God in his good time will accomplish: And though he stay a while, yet sure wee are he sleepeth not: and though as yet their abominations defile the Temple of God, yet a time shall come when their idolatrie shall be rooted out, when thornes and thistles shall growe vpon their Altars, then shall Sion appeare in perfect beautie, saye as the Moone, pure as the Sunne, and terrible as an armie with banners; which God for his Sonne sake, for his mercies sake, for his Churches sake speedily accomplish: come Lord Iesus, come quickly, O Lord make no long tarrying.

In despiht of Antichrist.

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